1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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102 Fig. 64 shows the distribution in Malta of Maltese Dockyard workers by
464 residence as a proportion of the total regional populations. The zones of con-
504 centration are centred on the Three Cities, and the great importance of Dock-
yard employment in the North-East as a whole, a phenomenon more than a
[361] century old (19), is clear. Particularly noteworthy in this context is the much
smaller association of Dockyard employment with the belt of urban settlement
which stretches from Valletta westwards to Lija. Conversely, the northern third
of the Island, most recently settled and still relatively sparsely populated, has
very little indeed to do with Grand Harbour. Gozo, still more remote, had but
25 Dockyard workers. Some 417 English workers were employed in the Dockyard
most of them living in the suburban residential areas west of Valletta, 75 per
cent. in contiguous Sliema, St. Julians and Gżira.

Thus we see the one part of the climax of that change in Malta which, com-
mencing in the sixteenth century, swung the economic centre of gravity from
the Centre to the North-East. During the last century the new conurbation
[494] extended its grip on the rest of the Island. Police Traffic Records (20) show
part of this effect; on the 5th February, 1958, a normal day, 28 special buses,
in addition to public transport, carried 930 Dockyard employees to work from
a zone extending to Birżebbuġa, Żurrieq, Siġġiewi, Dingli, Rabat, Mosta and
north-eastwards to St. Julians.

185 Here we have reason and space only for the briefest of notes on current
504 economic conditions. For more complete statements the reader is referred to
the recent publications of the Maltese Department of Trade and Industry. As
a result of Britain's reappraisal of her strategic needs, the old Naval Dockyard
was handed over to a civilian firm by April 1959. Some emotional reaction has

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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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rather obscured the simultaneous mounting of a five-year Economic Development Plan. This is aimed at the establishment of manufacturing industries and envisages the expenditure of over £32,000,000, the bulk of which is to be contributed by the United Kingdom. Internal Legislation under the Aids to Industries Ordinance XXI of 1959 offers attractive terms to immigrant and local enterprises. At Marsa, an Industrial Estate is rapidly being built, public utilities are being extended and facilities for technical and craft training improved. Completion is expected in 1961 of the first commercial deep-water quays, complete with storage and handling facilities. Several British business interests have already responded to these new attractions. 185 504

However, the fundamental characteristics of the Maltese economy and society remain, and the whole complex of resources, appraisal of resources and social needs and demands must be appreciated before effective forces of change will appear.

As a last short study we turn to the development of communications and public transport in the Maltese Islands, which is of significance for two main reasons. First, in the pattern that has appeared we can see the interplay of all those forces, Imperial and indigenous, which have affected Maltese life. Secondly, although the Islands are small, distance and remoteness are everywhere measured mentally as well as physically, and the impact of modern transport has revolutionised Maltese life. The road pattern in Malta is complex and generally ancient (Fig. 68).[1] It is impossible to categorise past and present roads sufficiently precisely to show cartographically the changes that have taken place and description must necessarily be brief. As shown in Worsley's survey of 1824 (21), the main alignments were then concentrated in the central region. Away from the grid-plan streets of Valletta and the less geometrical Three Cities (22), cart and carriage roads ran out to the main casals (within the zone referred to above as now served by Dockyard special buses) and inter-connected most of the rural centres. That part of the Island north of the Victoria Lines was poorly served. In Gozo, country tracks connected the villages with the inland capital of Rabat which in turn had a carriage road to the port of Mgarr. 491

By 1911 (23) traffic had increased considerably, particularly within a four-mile radius of Valletta, and the Royal Commissioners of that year ventured to question on financial grounds the need for maintaining the very large mileage of the dense central and eastern network of roads, most of which as the result of long customary use and evolution were of equal status although often strictly unnecessary. The northern and southern coastlands were still served only by a few 'feeder lines' from interior settlements, but with the bridging of the Isperanza gorge at Mosta, that town had become a route focus for the whole of the northern territory and henceforward began to rival Rabat. Military needs had resulted in improvements being made to some roads but, more important still, had called into being in 1881 a railway running from Valletta to Rabat, and later extended expensively to the camp and hospital at Mtarfa. By 1911 the operating loss had become so great as to warrant special inquiry by the Commission. The failure was due partly to the fact that the system had not been designed on commercial lines, partly because the total demand for transport was still relatively small in the areas served, but mainly because a railway service could not be flexible enough to meet the particular demand that did exist. In 1905 a tramway system, less open to objection on all these grounds, was opened. First the area between Valletta, Marsa and Hamrun was served, and later lines were built to Żebbug. Designed for passenger rather than freight carrying, the tramways assisted in the extension of urban influence into the country. Then as now, however, that indented coastal configuration to which Malta owes her natural harbours, and around which resides the majority of the island's population, made land communication in the conurbation area tortuous and lengthy. Innumerable ferries and the *dghajjes* boats in Marsamxett and Grand Harbour offered more convenient carriage. 496 [505]

During and after World War I, motor vehicles made their appearance and the railroad and tramways rapidly disappeared leaving as sole traces of their 494

[1] [See P. 184 - AoB - Analyst]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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low levels. Earlier improvements probably supplied the basis for change but more important was the fact that, for the first time, the effective Garrison of Malta included the whole population. The new machinery for public information, the desperate need for reducing disease incidence and preventing epidemics, and even food rationing and shortage had cumulatively beneficial effects on the public mind. More than all, it would seem, the military control of the besieged islands with its conscription of many Maltese males and the increased contact of British troops with the people, together with that strange uniting exaltation in face of danger observed in other countries, all shocked Malta into new ways of thought (Fig. 66).

After the war this momentum was maintained during the period of reconstruction. The Malta Memorial District Nursing Association, Child Health Clinics, and U.N.-established ante-natal clinics have now been accepted and their services utilised. In 1959 the infantile mortality rate was 34.7 per 1,000, leaving the memory of the rate of 350 per 1,000 in 1942 far behind.

This revolutionary change is of particular revelance to this study. Many of its implications need no labouring. The demographic consequences, for instance, are obvious enough, as also the slowness with which traditional ways of life in Malta have changed. For us the most important consequence is that rising generations through a new awareness of causation and consequence, of scientific processes, are becoming vulnerable to new ideas in associated fields. There are no great steps between preventive human medicine, inoculation, livestock injections and an appreciation of plant pathology. One difficulty remains; the rural areas are the least affected by these recent changes and those individuals in the countryside who are mentally injected with new ideas and understanding are, for various reasons, the least likely to remain in agriculture.

Exemplifying this continuing regional dichotomy, but unity in complexity, is the recent history of milk consumption and production (13). Traditionally in Malta, 'the entire milk supply has been delivered by the goat herself' (14). Sometimes living with their flocks in the *fossa* which surround Valletta, the herdsmen would wander the streets, milking the animals on demand. Bruce and Zammit in 1885 and 1905 showed that the bacillus of Undulant or Malta Fever was freely excreted in goats milk and that the high incidence in Malta of this debilitating, sometimes lethal, disease was a natural consequence of the general albeit low per capita consumption of fresh milk from predominantly diseased goats. After considerable investigation, a milk pasteurising plant was erected and the first pasteurised milk was distributed, Valletta, Floriana and Sliema being declared 'closed areas' within which the sale of raw milk became illegal. During World War II, further extension of this policy was prevented but, since most goats were slaughtered for meat because of fodder shortage and because consumption of tinned milk became normal, the incidence of Malta fever fell to record low levels. Post-war revival in goats' milk production resulted in general re-infection by brucellosis and in 1948 the incidence of undulant fever was the highest ever recorded. During the post-war period public health and welfare policies have encouraged the consumption of milk. Because of the incidence of Malta fever, this has entailed the provision of expensive pasteurising plant, the prevention of the sale of unpasteurised, and the official encouragement of production of cows' rather than goats' milk.

This particular development is examined at greater length in Chapter X but some main points of general import merit consideration here. First, Maltese society has recently been affected by social, dietetic and medical policies which profoundly affect the basis of social life. In general one might say that the Maltese way of life is being made more remote from the simple crudities of parochial experience. Secondly, in the field of health and social welfare, the criterion of scientifically measured need has been adopted as the basis of official policy and the question of availability of resources is regarded as of secondary importance. Thirdly, this increasing social sophistication has only very recently become operative in Maltese life and different scales of value exist in different generations and in different social groups. Lastly, it would be fair to say that, while the urban markets are still only relatively fastidious

about quality and as yet incompletely dominated by ideas of welfare economics, the rural community is far less affected by change. While milk consumers in the towns are often either not completely convinced of the need for milk processing or at the other extreme will use only imported tinned milk where possible, the producers are generally even less convinced of the need for care in the production of clean milk. Unpasteurised goats' milk is still generally used in those farming households where milk is consumed at all, and understanding of the processes of infection is but slowly growing. Thus, in the field of public health and personal hygiene and medical care, social changes have been rapid, recent and uneven in incidence. Here, as in the economic sector, the mental acceptance of new ideas is not yet complete and is least advanced in the most rural and remote regions.

The examination already made of the demographic situation in the Maltese Islands needs some brief consideration against the background of social attitudes. The consensus of expert opinion is that in developing societies a falling birth rate is the result not of an actual decline in fertility but of family limitation. In most regions such a decline in family size is associated with changed social attitudes, which have become accepted in many countries in which Roman Catholicism is the dominant religion. Pope Pius XII himself condemned irresponsible parenthood and said it is 'a mistake and a departure from moral truth to exalt too highly the generative function even in its right moral setting of married life' (15).

The insularity and historical experience of Malta have preserved there a more rigid and strict application of Catholic rules of conduct, in which, despite the inadequacy of the Islands' resources to provide for the economic welfare of the population, the virtues of the large family are still stressed. Archbishop Gonzi in 1958 reminded an audience of young people that, although large families entailed much sacrifice on the part of the parents, parents should be prepared for a life of sacrifice (16). Father Vella, the founder of the Cana movement has said: 'One of Malta's glories is her large families' (17).

In Malta therefore the weight of the Church tends to discourage the secular social trend towards smaller families, and still makes illegal any provision for family limitation. Where secularism is strongest, in the urban cosmopolis, family size declines most rapidly. In the rural communities, where the precepts of the Church are most conscientiously observed and where the effect of secular socio-economic desires is most restricted, large families are normal and admired.

This regional contrast in social behaviour, when superimposed upon purely demographic variations in rates of population growth, becomes sometimes emphasised and sometimes negated. In the northern third of Malta, inward internal movement as a consequence of 'pioneer' agricultural settlement during and after the mid-nineteenth century produced a 'young' population, high birth rates and rates of natural increase. This region has remained almost entirely rural in social character. The second main region of inward movement of population, the suburban area, has experienced a recent decline in the early high birth rates as a result of the impact of secular ideas.

The urban heart of Malta in Valletta and Floriana by contrast, has been both traditionally a zone of outward movement of population and the district most affected by changes in social attitudes to family propagation. The remaining area, the heart and core of Maltese 'casal' life, illustrates clearly the delicate balance between demographic and religious and secular social influences. From this central area have traditionally gone the migrants to the new towns and the 'new' northern farming areas. The efflux has counteracted the traditionally rural and strongly religious tendency towards large families and a high rate of natural increase. On the southern fringe of this zone however lies the Zurrieq group of 'casals' and villages. From this until recently relatively isolated district, emigration has never been high and, with a survival of traditional rural values, this region has had in the 1950's the consistently highest birth rates - over 30 per 1,000 - of the *Maltese* population.

TABLE 3

Year	Purchased by M.M.U.		Surplus		Percentage cows' milk	
1943-44	510,000	gallons			27	
1948-49	776,000	"				
1950-51	1,298,000	"			35	(1951)
1952-53	1,795,000	"	99,000	gallons	44	(1953)
1954-55	2,390,000	"	275,000	"	48	(1955)
1956-57	3,542,000	"	391,000	"	57	(1956)

A consideration of Cases I to IX and XII (Section 6) shows how this official support for dairying in the Islands has made herdsmen in the Islands desperate to benefit from the guaranteed milk market. Many have greatly increased their herds and withdrawn from other aspects of their farming in order to concentrate on milk production. Removal of Government support would have serious repercussions (Section 2) but, meanwhile, the herdsman is well satisfied with his steadily increasing income. The attitude of mind which permits a herdsman to develop a particular aspect of farming on this basis is significant. Clearly he has little awareness of the artificial basis of the position or, if he has, he is poor enough to take advantage of anything likely to bring a ready return whatever the long-term limitations may be.

Following the same pattern it would seem that if the farmer can be persuaded, for example, that he would increase the profit from his farm if he were to keep cost account records and modify his farm management accordingly he would be happy to do so. Similarly, as long as the balanced ration for pigs seemed to be doing his animals no harm he continued to feed it because it was subsidized and cheap. When, through mismanagement, the animals showed no signs of any improvement he returned speedily to the traditional feeding pattern. But this is a comparatively small question by comparison with the large-scale distortion of the dairying industry as a result of the guaranteed milk price - although the farmer does not think of the situation in these terms. There emerges, therefore, something of a moral obligation on the part of the Government to maintain the situation which a subsidy or virtual subsidy, as in the case of dairying, has produced.

Just as the farmer thinks only a short way ahead in time as far as the management of his farm is concerned so are his notions of space restricted. Earlier in this Section it was observed that he is aware of little beyond Malta. Thus it is difficult to make the farmer appreciate the intricacies of the export market for Maltese agricultural produce[42]. The fact that Maltese produce for export

*159 the source of the enthusiasm among his children and when a
● 185 few more years have made them money-conscious it is diffi-
241 cult to visualize their reconciling the limitations and
178 lack of profit in farming with their aspirations towards the bright lights of Valletta and other diversions. For the present nevertheless Ġużepp wants to expand his land holding and herd, although he has no sort of a bank balance and thinks in terms of the present low-interest loans being made available by the Government for farm development and of "working harder, rising earlier and economising on fruit and desserts for the children".

*159 His house is old and remote from the village. He pays
362 the landlord, "who does not do the repairs he ought",
[427] £8.10s per annum and thinks £5 would be much fairer. Given a perpetual lease on a plot he would build himself a new house and include near it accommodation for his animals. For his large family of wife and eight children the house, though very well kept, is hopelessly inadequate. Certainly
[157] the placid and generous natures of both Ġużepp and his wife enable the family to carry on under limitations of both home and farm which would have persuaded many another farmer to emigrate long ago.

*159 Moreover there is nothing in the hamlet which might be
54 called social relaxation. The nearest Band Clubs, cinemas
461 and cafés are in the village more than a mile away - a long distance by Maltese standards. However, as Ġużepp's wife observes "these things are not missed by the people" who have had little experience of them. She notes that in Malta, unlike England, the countryman can easily get to the bright lights, if he wishes, by bus. "But work, family and Church take up a lot of time".

*159 Labour problems do not trouble Ġużepp. He can him-
464 self operate his small holding and care for his two dozen
654 animals with the help of his wife, who joins him in the fields when work is pressing, and his young sons, whose contribution, he admits, is very considerable out of school hours
[426] and in the vacations. He is keen to mechanize (i.e. to acquire a hand cultivator on a Government low-interest loan) because he sees this as the way to increase the area worked with his present labour force. A larger area would mean more fodder produced which would bring more profit on the milk sold, while the number of animals could itself be increased along with the provision of extra accommodation (also on Government loan). The basic assumption here is that the Government's guaranteed price to the herdsmen for
*159 milk produced will continue. If it does not he would, it
443 appears, be forced to rely more on field produce for sale through the pitkal marketing system. He knows that profits here would be less and disturbingly prone to competitive